

C. Bowles
FARTHER REFLECTIONS

SUBMITTED TO THE

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CONSIDERATION

OF THE

COMBINED POWERS.

By JOHN BOWLES, Esq.

AUT NUNC AUT NUNQUAM.

SI PATRIAM—PARENTES—ANTIQUA MALLENT,
QUAM DOMINOS...

TACIT.

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

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1794.

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THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE Reader, it is trusted, will have the candour to observe, that the following REFLECTIONS, are not of a nature to raise in his mind a fruitless and unavailing alarm, and to leave him at last in all the perplexity of dark incertitude. The Author felt it to be his duty, not merely to expose the subsisting danger, but to point out the way (and as it appears to him the only way) of escape. He presents a *specific* plan, which he supports by a candid display of the reasons on which it is founded—a plan, which has for its object the restoration of general security, and the preservation of the civil rights of mankind. Having done this, he feels himself entitled to challenge those who may object to his system, to substitute in its place something equally definite and precise. Every other kind of answer will be but a cavil instead of a refutation; and, far from aiding, will embarrass and insult the important cause, which incessantly demands the adoption of CLEAR and DETERMINATE—as well as of vigorous measures.

BEFORE, however, any measures can have a chance for success, the Combined Powers must open their eyes, and see the War in its genuine nature and in its true
a causes.

causes. They must discover, not only the extent of the danger to which they are exposed, but also their *real* enemy. That enemy is not the French Nation—not even the French Republic—but the French Revolution. That is the enemy, which having been suffered, for want of timely resistance, to become formidable, is the actual cause of all the calamities they deplore, and the probable, and, if not checked, the certain cause of all the mischiefs they apprehend. Their own efforts have failed of success, only because they were misdirected. Like a hoodwinked combatant, they did not ward off the coming blow, for they saw not from whence it came; while, for want of perceiving where it was necessary to strike, their own blows have been wasted in the air. Surely it is time to tear the bandage from their eyes, to look their adversary in the face, and to employ all their endeavours to crush him before they be themselves overwhelmed. All their exertions will be thrown away unless they be directed against a Revolution, which, if it exist much longer, will spread the Revolutionary Wildfire over the earth, and subject every civilized State to the ravages of a Nation of armed and disciplined Robbers, subsisting only by excursions and plunder.

THE Revolution of France, instead of being confounded with other Revolutions, should

should be considered as an event altogether *sui generis*. It does not bear even the most distant analogy to any Revolution recorded in the history of the world. It is the nature of this Revolution not merely to subvert all existing Government, but to overthrow every establishment, civil and religious; every institution, political and moral. It acts by a subtle principle, which, like the electrical fluid, can penetrate everywhere, which can dissolve the firmest and closest ties, and reduce society into a state of fusion. It is not an event of a local nature, otherwise than as it took its rise in France: that country had nothing exclusive in it, but as it was the spot from whence rushed forth the evils with which it was charged; evils far more destructive than those that issued from Pandora's box, and which threaten to render human existence the most grievous of misfortunes. The tendency of this Revolution is universal. It is a contagion that human nature is every-where prediposed to imbibe, for it acts directly upon the passions, vices and infirmities of mankind. The natural boundaries of States furnish no impediment to its course. Mountains, Rivers and Seas present no obstacle to its progress. Armies and Navies can oppose but a temporary check to its advances. It tends every-where to destroy not only the bonds and attach-

ments which constitute the social union in every body politic, but even those national characteristics, those antient and rival animosities, so conservative of the identity of States, and (whatever modern philosophers may imagine) so conducive to their prosperity, by calling their resources and energy into action *. The disorganizing principle of this Revolution tends, in short, to subvert all order and society; to annihilate all distinctions, great and small, which are essential to the harmony of the world; to derange all kind of equilibrium, and remove whatever can preserve the poize of systems or the balance of powers; and, under the false and ensnaring pretext of an insidious Philanthropy, to reduce the world to a state of chaotic equality, in which France claims the pre-eminence so justly due to her, that of being the center of this boundless confusion—the focus of universal Anarchy.

It is therefore the French Revolution that the Combined Powers should consider as their real and only enemy, which all their efforts should be employed to destroy. They

* The Antigallican spirit by which Great Britain has been so long distinguished, and to which she is so much indebted for her greatness, seems in danger of subsiding into a taste for Gallic Fraternity; and English Loyalty has been already debased by a visible and an alarming mixture of French Revolutionary Treason.

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will otherwise be wasting the precious and fleeting moments that still remain to provide for their future safety, in an unavailing struggle with effects, while the cause of the mischief will be becoming irresistible. Their contest must be not merely with the Armies of France, but with its Revolution, against which all their efforts, physical and moral, should be directed. They must lay the axe to the root of that accursed tree, which, while they have been vainly endeavouring to cut off its branches, has been spreading on all sides with inconceivable rapidity.

It should not, however, be forgotten, that in directing all its efforts against the French Revolution, the War continues in principle, what it has been from its commencement, a War of DEFENCE. Its real object is the re-establishment of SECURITY. It is on this ground that all idea of Peace is romantic while France is Revolutionary, because, while she is so, no safety can exist for any other State. The true reason that pacification with France in her present situation is impracticable, is not the particular *form* of her Government, but the *absence* of Government from that country. Whenever, instead of being a prey to Anarchy; whenever, instead of being ruled by successive Factions, devouring each other, and invalidating each the acts of its predecessor, France shall have a fixed and settled Government, compatible
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with the safety of other States, possessed of firm and established authority, capable of performing its engagements, and recognizing the essential principles of civil society, the laws of nations, and the rights of other Governments; then, and not before, it will be rational to talk of treating: but till then the very mention of negotiation will be as distinguishable for folly as it is for pusillanimity. That event, in the Author's opinion (for which opinion he here assigns his reasons), can never be brought about by other means than the restoration of the legitimate Monarchy of France; but nothing can be more obvious than that France is not at present in the condition above described, and therefore not in a negotiable state. And yet, incredible as it may appear---while it is so necessary to throw away the scabbard, and to resolve to sheath the sword only in the vitals of the enemy, Europe is made to resound with exclamations for Peace, and even Great Britain is daily insulted with the degrading proposal*. A
clamour

* The Rabble of London are prevailed on, by the debasing influence of modern principles and modern practices, to join in the outcry for Peace, and thousands of them rejoice at the *idea* of a Peace à l'*Hollandoise*, though, were they to taste the *reality*, their joy would be of short duration. The United Provinces can by this time inform the rest of Europe, what are the consequences of indulging a hope of Peace with France in its present state, instead of employing the necessary means
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clamour for Peace is made not merely the stalking horse of Faction, but even an instrument of Sedition; as its attainment, if it were attainable from the implacable enemies of the human race, would prove the infallible means of a general Revolution, and be an infinitely worse calamity than War itself with all its horrors.

It is impossible, at such a time, to entertain a serious idea of Peace without entirely forgetting that the essence of Peace is security, and that without the latter the former would be but an aerial, fleeting and deceptive form. Under circumstances like the present, the advocates for Peace are its greatest foes; they are perhaps the actual cause that solid Peace cannot now exist; they may be the cause that it may never exist again for the present generation. The word Peace cannot now be pronounced without disgrace; the mouth that utters it is dishonoured; its sound is deleterious

to pursue the War with the utmost vigour. The regret, however, which every friend to society must feel, in seeing these rich but lethargic and dastardly Provinces in the possession of France, is in some degree alleviated by the reflection, that so just a reward has attended folly, cowardice, disaffection and treachery. One cannot but grieve indeed that the Princes of that country, who did all in their power to save their people, should now, like the Princes of France, be wandering exiles. But while the Princes of France appear in that character, every Prince in Europe will be in imminent danger of (at best) a similar fate.

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to the interests of Humanity. It tends, each time it is repeated, to unnerve the public mind; to draw off the attention from the nature and impede the prosecution of the War, which, to preserve the existence of Society, demands all our attention and all our ardour. Were that word indeed to be confined to its true sense, it could not now be used at all. Were Peace and Security as inseparable in language as they are in substance, they would be alike debarred both conversation and debate; for no one in his senses could fall into so monstrous and glaring an absurdity as to talk of treating for PEACE AND SECURITY with the CONVENTION OF FRANCE.

THOSE persons who are apt to indulge an impatience for Peace, not because they have the least confidence in the stability of any Peace that could be now patched up, but from motives of despondency excited by the failures and disasters of the War; who to escape from a present evil would plunge blindfold into a greater; such persons are entreated to consider, that the MASTER-KEY to success has not yet been tried, and that without a fair trial of its effect, it would be unreasonable to despair. To recommend earnestly such a trial, without farther loss of time, and before it may be too late, is the main object of the following Tract.

Dec. 24, 1794.

FARTHER REFLECTIONS,

&c. &c.

SINCE the publication of the former Reflections submitted by the Author to the Consideration of the Combined Powers, events and changes of an astonishing nature have taken place in France, if indeed any thing can astonish, after the transactions which have distinguished that country during the last five years. The dictatorship of Robespierre has been overthrown—the system of terror, which he wound up to its highest pitch, has been formally renounced—and moderation is become “the Order of the Day.” The Guillotine has been removed into the back-ground; and even the Jacobin Clubs and the affiliated societies, have been sacrificed to the momentary security of the triumphant party.

As these wonderful transitions seem to have a considerable effect upon some minds, the Author thinks it his duty to review what he has before

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written. But upon the most candid survey, instead of perceiving anything to retract, he is convinced that the principles he undertook to enforce are superior to occurrences. He finds those principles applicable not only to what has happened, but to whatever can happen, and he wants no better test of their being founded in reason and justice. The events that have recently taken place, do but afford additional evidence of the magnitude of the danger he endeavoured to display—of the necessity of the alarm he attempted to sound—and of the expediency of the measures he ventured, with great deference to those addressed, to recommend.

THE last of the many Revolutions exhibited by France, since she has been in a revolving state, and which was effected by the fall of Robespierre, professes to have substituted a system of moderation for a system of terror. But that profession, like all those which have contributed to the progress of the Revolution, is but a mere pretext, calculated to deceive and mislead all who place any confidence in it. It is true, terror was the feature which characterized the reign of that furious demagogue; but where is the moderation of his successors, and in what does it consist? Who are the men that lay claim to this amiable quality? What are their present pretensions? What was their previous character? Is their moderation

tion founded in Justice or Humanity ; or is it merely a cloak assumed for the convenience of the moment, and meant to be thrown off whenever convenience shall require a change of system ? Are not these Partizans of Moderation the very men who have planned or perpetrated all the atrocities of the Revolution ? Are not their hands stained with the blood of their King, and do they not glory to this hour in their execrable treason ? Have they not attained their pre-eminence by a crowded succession of crimes and massacres, that defile history with its foulest stain ? Have they not been associated with Robespierre himself in all his cruelties ? And have they pulled him down for any other reason, than because he would make the whole power to centre in himself—because he wanted to deprive them of their share of the tyranny, which they had jointly established, and to render them merely instrumental to his own ambition ?

SUCH are the *Moderates* of France. Now what is their moderation ? It is a system of violence and tyranny, which has no example in the history of the world, except the system to which it immediately succeeded. It has no better claim to the title of moderation, than the slight and momentary mitigation of the most excruciating tortures has to that of comfortable ease. The com-

pulsory requisition of persons and property continues in full force. The innumerable engines of violence and oppression are as active as before. The axe only, instead of being kept in constant and unremitting exercise, is suspended over the heads of the still affrighted and trembling people.

THE truth is, that nothing but the astonishing severity by which alone Robespierre could maintain his individual sway, could have enabled the system which has succeeded thereto, to assume the title of Moderation. It is by the aid of comparison that things often carry names, to which, in a just sense, they are by no means entitled. The people, who had immediate destruction before their eyes, are rejoiced at a respite. They are happy in being permitted to breathe a while, and to enjoy a cessation from the horrid work of death. On a momentary escape they build their hopes of future preservation; and without the smallest relief in other respects, they recollect their past dangers, and call their present state "Moderation."

So inexpressibly odious and revolting was the sanguinary reign of Robespierre, that his successful

ful rivals cannot fail to derive a degree of popularity, and to acquire a momentary strength, by appearing to adopt a system different from that which he pursued. Succeeding to such a Monster, they, Monsters as they are, fortify their own domination by the horror and detestation which he inspired, and which they take care to keep up by a thousand artifices, and even by relaxing, as far as they dare, the springs of rigour and severity by which he maintained the ascendancy. They find it a prodigious advantage that a comparison with him cannot but operate in their favour; and they improve that advantage to the utmost. It should also be remembered, that they succeed to the direction of that immense mass of organized force, which has been collected and formed by means very different from those of moderation; and the *impetus* being once so powerfully given, they can for a time direct and govern the machine by a much less degree of violence than was necessary to put it into motion. And alas! the astonishing successes of their arms and the rapidity of their conquests come in aid of their other advantages, and enable them, with more security and effect, to sustain their treacherous and unnatural character of moderation.

BUT

BUT who is there endued with a sufficient portion of credulity to place the least confidence in these pretences to moderation, or in the continuance and stability of such a system? Soon must the guillotine resume its sway, unless, indeed, the novel prejudice attached to its name, should render it necessary to substitute some other Revolutionary instrument of death. The causes which have produced its momentary suspension are fleeting and precarious. The furious elements remain unimpaired, and are ready to burst forth again with as much violence as ever. Terror has been the grand engine of the Revolution, and is still necessary to uphold it. Without this key-stone, the immense arch of violence and oppression, which remains perfect in all its other parts, must fall to pieces. By no other means can the people be compelled to submit to a privation of all the rights of society, which they have sacrificed to a pursuit of the visionary and impracticable "Rights of Man." The novelty of the present scene will soon be over. The impression of dread left by Robespierre will gradually wear away, and the people will begin to enquire, why they must endure the tyranny and injustice of a set of miscreant usurpers, and be obliged, at their command, to march, and fight, and bleed—to till and reap, and abandon the fruit

fruit of their labours to a merciless requisition, retaining scarcely enough to keep body and soul together. To such enquiries the axe alone can give a satisfactory answer. To these just and powerful causes of dissatisfaction will be united the immense torrent of popular passions, ever ready to burst forth upon the removal of any restraint. The numerous factions which have been suppressed, will avail themselves of so fair an opportunity to struggle again for the ascendancy. The Jacobins, every-where dispersed, will labour incessantly to regain their lost influence; and the ruling party will find it impossible to preserve their power, and to keep under their rivals and competitors, without the assistance of extreme rigour and severity. Perhaps they will avail themselves of the odium which they have succeeded in fixing upon the term Jacobinism, and every one destined to destruction, because suspected to be hostile to their reign, will be hunted down under the cry of Jacobin; which, instead of *Aristocrat*, will for a time be the cant term of reproach. But while Jacobinism is thus persecuted in appearance, its spirit will survive and flourish under some other form. It is a system too favourable to organized anarchy to be entirely abandoned. And should the avowed Jacobins be totally crushed, a matter as yet by no means certain, new Jacobins will
rise,

rise, Phoenix-like, from their ashes ; and the factions into which the victorious party will instantly split, will combat each other with Jacobin arts and Jacobin principles.

BUT, in truth, all our speculations respecting the interior of France lead only to one satisfactory conclusion—that it is impossible to form any rational conjecture, or to build any well-founded dependence on a matter so extremely fluctuating, unsettled, and precarious. What occurs to day affords no clue whereby to judge of to-morrow. There are no *data* from which to argue, no fixed or settled principles from whence to depart. While France is Revolutionary, she will defy all future, as she has baffled all past conjecture, and her condition will continue to consist of incessant though irregular vibrations, between the extremes of merciless Tyranny and of ferocious Anarchy. The pretended moderation of the day is but one of the *phases* of a Revolution, which threatens in its progress to derange every thing within the scope of its influence, and to make all orderly and civilized States to start from their spheres, and rush into the immense void of Anarchy and Chaos. What appearance that Revolution will next exhibit it is as difficult to surmise, as it was to foretell the past or the present. Even those persons who,
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for the time being, appear at the head of affairs, have no influence over the causes which tend to keep France in constant agitation and fluctuation. They are, indeed, the foremost in this scene of confusion and uproar ; but the rushing torrent is behind them ; and while they seem to drive, they are themselves driven. They cannot recede, but must go on, cost what it may, in their career of violence and iniquity. They have no power over the whirlwind on which they seem to ride, and which they have contributed to raise. They are themselves the sport of the boisterous elements which they have excited in conjunction with many others, who have been successively demolished by the fury of the storm ; and it is more than probable, that the next blast will hurry them in an instant from their slippery and baseless elevation into the same gulph with their predecessors *.

* What an instructive warning does the fate of French *agitators* sound in the ears of those, who seek to unsettle other States, and to disturb the foundations which have for ages been the basis of social order and security ! After such an example, is it possible for these rash adventurers to think, that they would be able to stop the machine of reform when once set in motion, and get out "*at Hounslow*," or anywhere else, till it has hurried them on to destruction ? Let them remember, that the road they wish to take, very different from that to *Hounslow and Windsor*, lies down a very steep descent, and that its declivity increases greatly at every step.

THE only material difference between the different Revolutionary systems of terror and moderation, is by no means in favour of the latter, which is the most proper to rouse suspicion and distrust. It is a false and treacherous moderation, tending only to deceive. The only real distinction between the two systems is, that the one displays openly what the other attempts to conceal. They are equally destructive, because they are equally a part of that general system which tends to universal desolation and ruin. But of the two, the moderate is the most dangerous, because it seeks to insinuate itself into our confidence, to put us off our guard, and to lull that alarm which would impel us to provide for our security. It will deceive all who confide in it. Should any Emigrants be tempted thereby to trust themselves within its reach, they will, in all probability, be the victims of their credulity, as thousands have been who, at different periods of the Revolution, have trusted to the basilisk faith of Decrees. The men who wield this gilded sceptre of moderation have made themselves sufficiently known, and it has not yet been proved that they have undergone any supernatural transformation. They can act only to injure, they can speak only to deceive, they can promise only to betray : and, what is still more deserving of attention, they hold their
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their power by so precarious a tenure, that their ability to perform their promises and engagements does not exceed their sincerity in making them *.

BUT whatever be the real temper of those persons who, because they appear foremost in the ranks of confusion, and give the word of command, seem to be possessed of the governing power—whatever be the fashion of the day, set by Paris, and instantly adopted with slavish servility by the rest of France—whether, in short, the prevailing system assume the soft semblance of moderation, or the more harsh and disgusting hue of terror—shall the rest of Europe be the sport of so capricious an influence? Shall the Belligerent Powers be diverted from their object, or fluctuate in their plans, because appearances are every day assuming a new face in a country which is subject to no fixed and settled principle, and which is as destitute of stability as it is of virtue? That Country, amidst all its internal vicissitudes, is becoming every hour more dangerous to other States—more formidable in its force, more alarming in its conquests. In its hostilities, in its ambition, in its insolence, nothing like moderation is to be

* Those who talk of treating for peace with such men ought surely to prove, that this description is not applicable.

found *. Every change that takes place does but bring with it fresh proof, that Europe can never attain security, or enjoy repose, until France shall have exchanged her Revolutionary state for that of order and subjection to regular and stable government.

THIS is a truth which, amidst all the chaos of confusion, shines forth with clear and steady light, and which is constantly acquiring additional lustre from the lengthened continuance of the surrounding obscurity. While destitute of all fixed principle of Government, capable of maintaining and preserving a settled and orderly state of things, the condition of France must continue to be Anarchical. If, indeed, it were possible to cut her off from all connection and interference with other States, her Anarchy would be of short duration, and she must speedily, from the operation of internal causes, return to a state of civil organization, under the controul of regular and permanent Government, which is the natural state of social man. But situate, as she is, in the heart of Europe, with such immense resources at her

* The observation of Barrere in the Sitting of Nov. 14 is but too just: "Through a fatality generally attendant on
" Revolutions, every thing but victory has changed around us.
" Passions, interests, fraternity, projects, politics, public opinion
" —all have assumed a new form."

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command, with such opportunity and such ability to molest other Countries, she has it constantly in her power to make the principle of molestation auxiliary to the principle of anarchy; and as every system, when once established, seeks to prolong its existence, she is sure to avail herself of that power. In other words, by the aid of external war, she may subsist without settled order or regular coherence—and the force necessary to be exerted to carry on that War, aided by the pretexts of delusion and the enthusiasm to which it gives occasion, will supply the place of an internal regulator, and enable the succession of ruling parties to exercise, one after another, the Supreme Power, undefined as it is, though none of them be able long to retain it. Thus is Anarchy within fed and maintained by aggression without; and the Nation is thereby held together, though in a state of incessant restlessness and change, and destitute of any *internal* tie which could otherwise prevent it from falling to pieces. The Few are thus enabled to keep the Multitude in a state not merely of forced subjection, but of oppression and misery beyond all example. The individuals possessing the ascendancy are indeed frequently cut off, and the acquisition of the sceptre of Anarchy is but the prelude to destruction: but the Anarchical Monster is not enfeebled by the overthrow of this or that

that party—no sooner does he lose one head than his generative powers instantly supply another : and however these heads may vary in aspect or in hue, they are all equally voracious and destructive.

THE justness of the above statement is so apparent, that it is perpetually recurred to by those persons who are incessantly calling out for Peace, without daring to encounter the question, whether Peace be at this time attainable. Such persons both see and admit the inseparable connection between the Anarchy of France and the War, and they therefore contend, that the discontinuance of the one will certainly produce the termination of the other. But who is there so blind as not to perceive, that this argument, like the cause it is employed to support, inverts the order of things, by making cause and effect to assume each other's place ? It supposes the Anarchy to have resulted from the War, instead of having produced it. The inference would not indeed be conclusive, even if the supposition were well-founded. For if the War, co-operating with other causes, had thrown France into her present state of confusion, it by no means follows that it would be either safe or practicable to abandon it while she remains in that situation. But it is established beyond all controversy, by the undeniable evidence of facts, that France first broke loose from
every

every species of internal restraint, and then, by a very natural transition, became a source of external molestation and annoyance*. She has not only been, in every instance during the present War, both the formal and the virtual aggressor in hostilities, but the Revolution itself, from its very commencement, was, both in principle, language, and conduct, aggressive on every other State, and hostile to every existing Government, and to every species of lawful authority. It was a Revolution founded on principles which tended directly to Anarchy, because they were incompatible with social order and civil subordination; it assumed, at the very outset, a character of universal proselytism, insolence, and encroachment; and it exhibited, in its earliest stage, a threatening aspect to the tranquillity of mankind. It affected to take for its basis a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which, instead of being confined to specific regulations applicable to the state of France, seems to have been intended as an act of Legislation for the whole human race; while by holding forth general assertions of abstract and unalienable rights, nowhere existing in practice, it condemned, without reserve, every subsisting Government as unlawful. The usurping Assembly

* When the rash and empyrical folly of M. Neckar, by introducing the "double representation" of the Commons, opened the flood-gates to a popular torrent, which nothing could resist,—at *that* moment all political balance was entirely destroyed, and the Anarchy of France was virtually atchieved.
which

which framed this Declaration (as well as each succeeding Assembly) made no scruple to represent every Sovereign as a Tyrant, and every People as enslaved. Even the liberty of Great Britain was looked down upon with contempt, and Englishmen were to owe their Freedom to the example of France. Nor was the Assembly remiss in enforcing its principles and its theories by a conduct and example perfectly corresponding therewith. The Members of that Assembly, in direct violation of their trust and of their oaths, abolished all distinctions of rank, those necessary gradations in the social edifice—displaced all the existing powers—trampled upon the rights of property—connived at the most atrocious excesses—laid prostrate the Church—and, *by deposing the King from his lawful authority and his hereditary dignity* (though they retained him as a phantom of Royalty, to make him subservient to their purposes) *they prepared his inevitable destruction* *. They thus declared, that the kind of Revolution of which France was intended to furnish a model for general imitation, was a complete dissolution of all the bands of Society—that the Rights of Man which they sought to establish and to inculcate, were not those rational and salutary rights,

* The event has put it beyond all doubt that this was TREASON in France, though Juries seem to think that it is not so in England.

both of Sovereign and subject, consisting in the right to protection on the one side, and to allegiance, respect, and submission on the other, and prescribing to each corresponding duties as the condition of its respective claims—no such rights were to be found in their code; but instead thereof the denial of all rights on the part of the Sovereign, and the assertion of the right of disobedience, insurrection, and rebellion, on the part of the People. Farther, by applying the exercise of these horrid rights to the person and government of the most mild and benign Prince that ever sat on the Gallic Throne, they proclaimed to the world, that wanting no excuse or palliation derived from the actual existence of intolerable oppression and merciless tyranny, it was a deliberate, metaphysical, and cold-hearted rebellion of which their Revolution presented an example to mankind. In like manner did the infant Revolution, like an Hercules in his cradle, announce betimes to other States what it would one day become, by grasping and attacking every right, even of foreign Princes, that was within its reach. The rights of the German Princes *feudatories* in Alsace and Lorraine (rights established by solemn Treaties and long enjoyed), and the Sovereignty of the Pope as a Temporal Prince in Avignon, were invaded and usurped, without the smallest ceremony or colour of justice,

as a preface of that universal aggression by which the maturer age of the Revolution was to be distinguished.

THE progress of the Revolution ever since has been accompanied with an increasing insolence and hostility towards other States, with unceasing endeavours to stimulate the people of every Country to follow so *bright* an example, and to excite everywhere a spirit of turbulence, discontent, and disaffection ; until at length the Trumpet of Revolt was openly sounded to the whole World—and by the Decree of November 19, 1793, the Convention of France *offered fraternity and assistance to all People who should wish to recover their liberty*. This formal Declaration of War was, as might naturally have been expected, speedily followed by an actual commencement of hostilities against such of the Belligerent Powers as had not been previously attacked ; while, to keep open some sources of necessary supplies, other Powers were cajoled, and even bribed, as well to betray, by a base, dastardly, and ruinous Neutrality, the general cause of Society, as to overlook the insults they had received, in common with their neighbours, and the particular attempts made to allure their own subjects to embrace the faith of the Revolution. Now indeed, that the military force of the Republic has been completely organized ; now that, by means alike horrible and unprecedented, and which no regular
Government

Government could employ—now that, by every species of cruelty and oppression, and by making all the strength and resources of the Country flow into this channel, *that* force has been extended to a degree unknown in the annals of the Monarchy, and been crowned with astonishing success—the mask is thrown aside—the ardour of French Philanthropy is cooled—the decree of Fraternity is repealed—the Convention cares no longer for the liberty of other States—and the arms of France are pointed, not towards universal Freedom, but universal Conquest. The most moderate pretension now is, to make the Bank of the Rhine the boundary of the French Territory; a pretension which, if urged by the Monarchy, would have been wisely repelled at any cost, and at any risk, by the united force of the rest of Europe. It surely behoves Europe to consider very seriously the infinitely more powerful reasons which call upon them to resist such a pretension, and indeed every pretension of the French Anarchical Republic. It behoves Europe to reflect seriously on the consequences attending the establishment of such a Republic, whereby France would be formed into a State altogether military; in which industry, commerce, arts, and sciences, would have no other object than to support numberless armies, ever ready to rush forth and despoil neighbouring countries; and where the plough, the loom, and the forge, would be valued only for the sake of furnishing the implements and the necessaries of war.

As, therefore, it is clear that the French Revolution had a direct tendency to prove a source of general disturbance ; and as, in point of fact, it has endangered the safety of every State, and the existence of all lawful Government ; and *that*, as well by aiming to excite everywhere a spirit of restlessness, insubordination and revolt, as by actually kindling a general War ; it follows as a plain and undeniable consequence, that so long as France, under the influence of its Revolution, shall continue to be Anarchical, Europe must be a stranger to repose and security. While France is destitute of regular and stable Government, War, with all its concomitant dangers, must continue ; unless, indeed, it should terminate fatally for civil society ; a supposition becoming less chimerical every day. The Anarchy of France, possessed of sufficient power to render the conquest of the Country almost a visionary speculation, but incapable at the same time of subsisting without the aid of War, will, for its own sake, resort to the means necessary to prolong its existence. It is a Monster that feeds on War ; and, situated in France, it has unfortunately ample means of subsistence at its command. Peace would be poison to this Monster, which it has too much sagacity to be prevailed on to swallow. The only way, therefore, to attain tranquillity, is

is to kill the Hydra.—But he must be killed outright. He has wonderful powers of resuscitation; and, if left even at the last gasp, he is sure to recover, and to become almost instantaneously as formidable as ever. But how is his complete destruction to be effected? There is but one way; and should the Combined Powers neglect it, though they may perhaps, if their arms be singularly successful, succeed in weakening and reducing their enemy, so as to obtain a short interval of delusive repose, he will soon be renovated, and attack them again, when it will be out of their power to sustain another shock. It is obviously pointed out by the nature and the history of the Revolution, that this Monster can never be entirely destroyed, until the lawful Government, to the subversion of which he owes his existence, be firmly restored. Nothing can be more plain and simple than this proposition; nor can any mathematical demonstration be attended with greater certainty—FRANCE BECAME ANARCHICAL BY THE SUBVERSION OF HER ANTIENT AND LAWFUL GOVERNMENT, AND SHE CAN ONLY CEASE TO BE SO BY ITS RE-ESTABLISHMENT. This is the only event in which she can cease to be Revolutionary, and either enjoy order and tranquillity herself, or suffer it to exist elsewhere.

THE experience of the Revolution is surely not calculated to recommend, either the repetition
of

of any plan by which it has been distinguished, or the experiment of any new speculation. It is the antient Government, under which France arrived, in the long succession of ages, at the height of prosperity, which is alone applicable to that Country—it is that alone which presents any distinct or specific object to the mind. Supposing any other system to be attempted, to what standard is it to be brought? To whose opinion is it to be referred in order to ascertain its nature, its limitations, or its extent? By what authority is it to be established? Alas! who cannot see that the very attempt would tend only to prolong contention and perpetuate uncertainty? Supposing that any newly contrived system of Constitutional Royalty, instead of the genuine Monarchy of France, were to be resorted to, how long could it be expected to endure? What foundation could it have capable of supporting it? What could recommend it but the caprice of the day? What could protect it against the caprice of the morrow? This would still be Anarchy, although its hideous features might wear a momentary and an insidious smile. Even the calm which might be thus produced, would itself denote, in horrid gloom, the returning tempest.

It

It is impossible, therefore, for any truth to be better supported, by reason and experience, than this—That no durable Government can be established in France, except upon the basis of its antient Constitution. That Constitution, which has its roots deep-stricken in antiquity, can alone afford a firm and solid foundation for order, tranquillity, and permanent authority. It is, perhaps, on a *general* conviction of this truth, and on the conduct which such a conviction would produce, that depends the escape of mankind from the desolation and ruin with which they are menaced. But although every friend to peace and humanity would rejoice at such an event as the restoration of *that* lawful Government, the apparent difficulty of bringing it about may perhaps discourage from the undertaking. That it may be difficult of accomplishment is perhaps true—but it should be remembered, that to establish any other system is impossible. The experience of fourteen Centuries has proved that Government to be practicable in France. The same experience, corroborated since by *that* so dearly purchased by the last five years, proves that no other is there practicable. Nor is the difficulty of restoring it so great as it may appear to be. Habits, manners, attachments, prejudices—those nerves and sinews of all human institutions, have been formed upon
this

this model. It is true, they have suffered a temporary interruption. But they are engraven on the hearts and minds of the people; and may, perhaps, resume their sway with more influence than ever. The sufferings that have accompanied their absence, must render their return doubly welcome. No attachment is so strong as an antient one when renewed after a suspension, particularly when that suspension has been productive of misery: as a bone that has been broken is, when knit again, stronger than ever. Whatever may be insinuated to the contrary, by those who wish to cast an odium on every condition of *orderly* society, the people of France were distinguished as a contented and happy people—attached to their Monarchy, their Religion, their Laws, and their Magistrates; and it will be infinitely more easy for them to resume these attachments, under which they became flourishing and respectable, than to form new ones that shall be in any degree permanent. They will never possess stability until they quit their inconstancy, and return to their antient and orderly habits of life,

THOSE whose aim it is to prolong and to extend Anarchy, lose no opportunity of representing the antient Government of France as an intolerable Despotism; and they thereby prevail on many well-

well-disposed persons, who rely more on the assertions of others than on their own investigation of facts, to deprecate the return of such a system. Nor, indeed, is it unusual to hear it maintained, that France was entirely destitute of a Constitution; a doctrine which was industriously propagated at the beginning of the Revolution, and which, by gaining credit in the minds of the people, had considerable influence in prevailing on them to part with the substance in pursuit of a mere shadow. They have, however, since learned to their cost what it is to be without a Constitution*. A greater absurdity cannot be advanced, than that a large and populous country should have subsisted in an uniform manner, under the same form of Government and the same fundamental Laws, from century to century; frequently engaged in foreign war, and, what is far more decisive in that respect, often enjoying considerable intervals of peace†; proceeding progressively in all the arts and refinements of civilization, and attaining a high degree of prosperity; and all

* A like absurdity was maintained in respect of this Country by Thomas Paine, and propagated by his friends and abettors in the Constitutional and London Corresponding Societies.

† I say, what is more, enjoying frequent intervals of peace—for, as has been before established, Anarchy may subsist by the aid of War, but a state of peace requires both that Government should be fixed and stable, and that its powers should be sufficiently balanced.

this without a Constitution. But it is not only true that France had a Constitution, but that she had such a one as was best adapted to the genius, the manners, and the habits of the people. It was, in its spirit and essence, favourable to their enjoyment of as much freedom as was consistent with the aggregate of their situation *. So far was their Monarch from being a Despot, that the very principle of his authority was, *si veut la Loi si veut le Roi*. He could not impose taxes by his authority alone, but, in the absence of the States General, was often successfully resisted by the Parliaments, and obliged thereby to renounce his intentions. The same powerful bodies had a right of remonstrance, and of carrying to the Throne the wishes and complaints of his people. His subjects frequently, in an individual as well as in a corporate capacity, sustained law-suits with the Crown, and were frequently successful. And so far were the middling and lower classes from having any cause to complain of an unequal administration of the Laws, it is well known that in the ordinary Tribunals, whatever advantage was derived from rank was in favour of those classes.

It is not meant to be denied, that in a course of time numerous and gross abuses had crept in,

* See note [A] at the end.

which

which undoubtedly required correction; abuses that, unlike those imperfections which exist in this Country (and which are indeed more or less inseparable from the practice of every institution), did obscure, in some degree, the principles of the Constitution and impair its energy: whereas here, whatever defects a fastidious and speculative eye may discover, our Constitution, in its practice and result, is as perfect as it is possible for the rational mind to form an idea of; so perfect, as to have no solid advantages to expect from reform, and therefore possessing no motive to encounter the risk inseparable from the experiment.

BUT the abuses of the French Government, great and odious as they were, were far, during the mild reign of Louis XVI. from being applied to the purposes of oppression; and they were on the point of being exterminated for ever, by that benevolent and truly patriotic King, when the Authors of the Revolution took a base advantage of his anxiety for his people's welfare, and of his benignant disposition, to overwhelm himself and his country with destruction. In his royal and gracious Declaration of the 23d of June 1789 to the States General, which he had convened for the purpose of establishing the happiness of his subjects on a permanent basis, he proposed reme-

dies for all the abuses and grievances of which they had complained—he proposed means to relieve every hardship, and to remove every undue inequality. In particular, the practice of *Lettres de Cachet* (which in his reign existed much more in recollection than in use; and which, however liable to perversion, were never oppressive or formidable to the great body of the people) he called upon the States to assist him in abolishing, by finding some substitute in the lieu thereof, to provide for the public tranquillity which the sudden removal of any established barrier might have otherwise endangered, and for the honour of families, which in that refined country being a matter of peculiarly exquisite sensibility, required extraordinary means of preservation—the inequalities attending the collection of the taxes, in favour of what were called the privileged orders, an evil much more real than the bugbear of the Bastille, though far less extensive than is generally supposed, he also provided against in the above Declaration; although these privileges had been previously and voluntarily abandoned by those orders, in whose favour they had been originally established on rational and equitable grounds—and to complete his gracious offers, he proposed, in conformity to the spirit of the French Constitution, which in this respect had become dormant, that the consent of the people in the States should
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be necessary to authorize the imposition of taxes. In short, this beneficent Prince, abundantly more eager to remedy every grievance than his people were to utter their complaints, proposed in that Declaration a plan, not merely to reform, but to check and prevent, as much as possible, the corruptions of the State; and which, if accepted, as it deserved to be, with joy and gratitude, and carried into effect as far as it was consistent with the principles of the antient Constitution*, might have been rendered the MAGNA CHARTA of France: and it has been justly said, that a bad King would never have granted so much but after the loss of many battles.

POSTERITY will scarcely believe that in return for so much benevolence and goodness, this gracious Monarch, this indulgent Father of his People, after being loaded with numberless insults during a captivity of more than three years, was brought to a mock trial and an ignominious execution.—See him, Frenchmen—see your affectionate—your once-beloved Sovereign—expiring on a scaffold—the victim of foul rebel-

* There seems, indeed, to be some reason to conclude, that this Declaration deviated in a degree from the antient Constitution, by fettering too much the exercise of the Executive Power. But that defect might have been corrected, if the States had taken for their guide the spirit of that Constitution, as they were bound by their duty and their oaths to have done.

lion and relentless barbarity—refused, in his last moments, the common privilege of the vilest malefactors, a parting adieu to the surrounding multitude—precipitated into eternity with the unfinished prayer still quivering on his lips—his royal head held up by rebel hands, and insolently declared the head of a Traitor*—his bleeding corpse cast with indignity into the nearest place of interment, without a single form of religious rite or even of decent sepulture—and hastily consumed, lest some loyal sympathizing tear should fall on the senseless clay.—And shall not, O once loyal people!—shall not the review of such a scene, while it rouses your just vengeance against its vile perpetrators, revive your attachment to the Crown and Family of your injured Monarch?—Shall it not rivet your fidelity to the Son of your murdered Sovereign—the descendant of your fourth Henry—the Heir of the French Monarchy? In that unfortunate Prince, miraculously preserved amidst so many dangers, but still wasting his youthful days in gloomy confinement, behold your **LIEGE SOVEREIGN!** Render to him the homage of your hearts, and thank Heaven that you may still hope to expiate in the person of the Son, the injuries of the Father. Thus, by returning to the paths of duty and allegiance, may you yet escape from the miseries you now suffer, and lay a solid foundation for your future happiness.

It

* See note [B] at the end.

It was thus that the English Nation were rescued from the oppressions of Tyranny and the horrors of Anarchy. It was thus that they regained the blessings of order, and prepared that high state of felicity which they have since enjoyed, and still enjoy. It was thus that they sought to purify themselves from the foul stain of Treason, consummated, as in France, by the enormous crime of Regicide : a crime, which they still seek to expiate, by contrite and solemn devotion, whenever the revolving day, the blackest in their Annals, reproaches them with the atrocious deed. The miseries of their intermediate situation bore, indeed, no comparison to those now endured by France ; but they found no asylum except in the restoration of their lawful Government. They were too wise to clog and embarrass that Restoration by new and fanciful restrictions on the Regal Power, knowing that by so doing they would only have retarded the return of order and tranquillity, and have opened a source for subsequent contention. They knew that it was not then the moment even to introduce any improvements into the administration of their Government. The experience of Revolutions (for they too had had several during the subversion of their Monarchy) had taught them, that the object of the very first importance and necessity was

to restore things to their antient state—they therefore, instead of endeavouring to compromise with the Royal Authority, restored the Son to the Throne of his Father, and trusted to the good sense of future and more settled times to establish such checks or correctives as experience might point out to be necessary *. They were speedily and properly rewarded ; for the very same reign produced the famous Habeas Corpus Act—that grand Bulwark of English Liberty—that second Magna Charta—scarcely inferior to the first in point of value and importance.

THE DAY that France shall imitate the above example, so strongly recommended by its result, will be a great, a glorious, and a happy day for that Country. France will have abundant reason to rejoice on that day which shall see the Son, in like manner, ascend the Throne of the Father. Not that Constitutional Throne from whence the Father, after being deposed from his lawful authority, was led to the scaffold—nor any other Throne erected on the airy basis of speculation, and which would but ensure to him the fate of his SIRE—but the Throne of his Ancestors—there to govern, not despotically, but according to known and fundamental laws, and in

* See note [C] at the end.

connection with the intermediate and subordinate powers essential to the Constitution.

But in order to produce the desired benefit, or indeed any benefit, from a Restoration, the Royal Authority must, as in England, be restored entire—such as it was previous to its subversion. Were it to be resumed with enfeebled force, how could it reduce such a chaos into order—how prevent the jarring elements from again rushing forth and throwing all into confusion. Besides, where resides the right to impair its energy and curtail its prerogatives? Have foreign Powers such a right, or can it belong to the unprincipled regicides who *have* usurped, or to any other faction which *may* yet succeed them in usurping, the dominion? Until the legitimate Authority be replaced, no lawful act can be done. It is impossible to confer what is not possessed; and only a Power that is legal can give legitimacy to its proceedings. Whatever proceeds from the Revolution must be essentially invalid: whatever is derived from such a source should be rejected with scorn: even an advantage, however specious, however valuable in itself, would, when obtained by such means, cease to be a benefit, and actually become an evil. It would be the offspring of crime. It would be a scion of the Revolution, and would produce only corrupt and poisonous fruit.

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fruit. It would be the germ of future Revolutions. A purse of gold is, in itself, a good thing, but not as the price of infamy, or the produce of robbery. Were it possible for France to obtain, in that way, the most perfect theoretical form of Government (a supposition truly chimerical), it would in effect be the most grievous misfortune. Being acquired by a Revolution, its apparent excellence would only recommend the practice of Revolutions, and cause them to become easy; it would unsettle men's minds, and render them visionary: for though Nature has imposed insuperable limits on *practical* perfection, *speculative* perfection knows no bounds but those of fancy and caprice.

BUT THE DAY that shall witness the re-establishment of the French Monarchy will be scarcely more auspicious to France than to the rest of Europe, to Society, and to Humanity. It will be to mankind a day of escape from dangers infinitely more dreadful than have ever been either realized in fact, or apprehended in idea. It will rescue the human species, not merely from desolation and ruin, but from that impending state of brutal and ferocious depravity, into which human nature must be reduced, when released from every tie, social, moral, and religious—from every restraint of order and good government. It will secure the energy of Laws—the rights of Property—and the influence
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of Religion. It will restore stability to States, security to lawful Government, and peace to Nations. Not that it will relieve the world entirely from the calamity of War, for it will not root out the passions and infirmities of human nature, which, while the world lasts, will occasionally involve States, as well as individuals, in contention: the political, as well as the natural world, must ever be subject to storms: but it will put a stop to a War differing as much from all other Wars, as the furious conflict of elements attending the dissolution of nature from a common hurricane or earthquake—a War which employs means infinitely more dreadful than fire and sword—which pursues an object inexpressibly more calamitous than conquest and subjection—a War which admits of no compromise—which no submission, no sacrifice can assuage—and which, besides carrying in its train, with unspeakable aggravation, all the miseries that the most cruel Wars have ever produced, is itself but an auxiliary to Anarchy, and aims at nothing less than the total disorganization of civilized Society.

NOTHING can avert such a catastrophe but the event above alluded to—the firm and secure re-establishment of the French Monarchy; for nothing else can extinguish the tremendous Volcano which convulses the social fabric to its deepest foundations.

foundations. Any other form of Government, any novel species of Constitutional Royalty, would but cover this Volcano for a moment, and upon the slightest eruption would totally disappear, and, like the Constitution of 1789, "leave not a wreck behind." It is, therefore, the indispensable duty of the Coalesced Powers not to suffer themselves to be deluded by such ideal phantoms; but, as the guardians of Society, to direct all their attention, and to exert all their wisdom and ability, to accelerate an event, on which alone they can depend for the return of solid and genuine security. Every motive that can and ought to influence them—Honour—Humanity—and Justice—as well as interest and policy (in their usual and limited sense)—call upon them, not only to pursue this object with unremitting ardour, but *openly and manfully to avow it.*—HONOUR—for it is impossible, by any other means, even to free their conduct from the suspicion of being governed by base and *interested* views.—HUMANITY—for never was the happiness of man so extensively concerned in any event, since the commencement of the Christian *ÆRA*—that sacred Epoch, which has been dismissed from the Calendar of French Democratical Infidels, no less eager to insult the Majesty of Heaven than his Vicegerent on Earth.—JUSTICE—that
essence

essence of all moral virtue, that only firm and solid bond of the social union—calls likewise upon them, in the most solemn manner, to assert its cause, to vindicate its rights, and to avenge its atrocious wrongs. Violated in all its principles by the French Revolution, it demands redress for the unparalleled injuries it has thereby sustained, as the only condition of preserving other States from the destruction of all rights that are essential, not merely to the welfare, but to the existence of Society. The danger to which the just rights of every lawful Government are exposed*, however obvious (and nothing surely can be more so), is not at all more real or more imminent than that which menaces the rights of every proprietor, of every class and rank in Society, and of every industrious individual, whose labour is the basis of his independence as well as the ornament and support of his condition. All these rights are indissolubly linked together, and the same fate, whether prosperous or adverse, awaits them all. The security of persons and property, the free exercise of honest industry, will not survive the destruction of lawful Government any longer in other Countries than they did in France. How forcibly then does Justice invoke every Sovereign, and every subject, to contribute all in their power to restore the rights of that

* See note [D] at the end.

Government, which involves in its fate both the political and social rights of mankind throughout the rest of the World! Whatever the Poets may have feigned, *ASTRÆA* never attempted to quit this Earth till the breaking out of the French Revolution. Then it was, that feeling her Empire really shaken, she prepared to depart; and she waits only the event of that Revolution, either again to fix her terrestrial abode, or to abandon it for ever,

THE call of Honour, Humanity, and Justice, on the Combined Powers, to assist in raising up the fallen Monarchy of France, being so powerful, it surely cannot be necessary to enforce it by any motives of interest or policy. It would be to presume the absence of all rectitude and virtue, of all wisdom and discernment, to suppose, that in a case so clear those Powers can conceive their real interest and sound policy to lie in other paths than those of Honour, Humanity, and Justice. Were it possible, however, after what has happened (proving incontestably that general and partial interests are the same), that any Power should be able to look only at its own concerns, or to suppose they can be separated from those of its allies, or indeed from the general interests of mankind; can it escape the observation of the Houses of AUSTRIA, of HANOVER, of BRANDENBURG, of ORANGE, and of the other Potentates

tates engaged in the cause, that their fates, collectively and individually, depend on that of the House of BOURBON? * France has long been sensible of this truth, and has been proclaiming it aloud throughout the Revolution. The owners of several estates situated in the same neighbourhood, held under the same tenure, and derived originally from the same title, would be all justly alarmed, if the right of any one of them were to be attacked upon a principle which, if established, would equally affect them all. They would surely find it their interest to make common cause, and to join in repelling the attack, in the first instance, without waiting severally till their own turn should come, and their means of defence be diminished by the success of their adversary in the original contest. This is the case with the Powers of Europe, except that their rights were not obliquely, but directly and openly invaded by the Revolution in France. They were all put in issue at the same time, and *they* received formal notice of the claim. None of those Powers — no lawful Government whatever, has, or can have, any other title to sovereignty than *that* by which *Louis XVI.* held his Crown; nor, unless violence and injustice can destroy right, than *that* which has descended upon his Heir. Until this title shall triumph over the principles by which

* Since the publication of this Tract, the House of Orange has afforded a melancholy confirmation of the above remark. Note to the Second Edition.

it was attacked, the title of no lawful Government will be secure *. That those Powers have not, to this moment, formally recognized this title (connected as it is with their own), and declared their determination to support it, is far more surprizing than any of the astonishing circumstances attending the War; and is also the real cause of its unparalleled disasters, and of its continuance.

To account for this wonderful omission is a task as painful as it is difficult. But it is a truth which deserves their serious consideration, that every day they neglect to announce such recognition, their cause, which is that of Society and regular Government, becomes weaker, and their chance, not merely of success, but of escape, more doubtful. Every hour—every event—brings them a fresh and solemn warning to delay no longer an explicit Declaration in favour of the young King and the Regent of France, as the only test in their power to give of their honourable and benevolent intentions with respect to the Country. Late as it now would be, such a Declaration could hardly fail instantly to produce the most beneficial consequences. . It would be more than equivalent to the most brilliant victories, and to the most powerful accessions of force. Its appearance would be like the rising of the sun

* See note [E] at the end.

upon their cause, which would become progressively more bright, until it shone in the full lustre of meridian success. While they neglect a measure of such indispensable justice, they have no right to expect the blessing of Providence on their arms. It is even necessary, in order to produce among the Allies that harmonious co-operation which finds so many impediments in an extensive Confederacy, by uniting their views and directing their efforts to one common object. It is impossible that they should co-operate cordially and effectually, unless they have the same ultimate design, and unless they convince each other that this is the case. Otherwise, they will draw different ways, and, instead of assisting, they will counteract, suspect, and disappoint each other. It is equally impossible that they should unite in any other object than *that* which such a Declaration would avow. The restoration of the Monarchy of France is the only precise and specific object which can be presented to the minds, either of the Powers of Europe, or of the French People themselves, as a termination of the calamities which distress the one, and which afflict, menace, and endanger the other. Distinct from this object, no two persons, either in or out of France, agree in any definite and detailed plan. Nor can it be said, that any individual is prepared with any thing more definite on this subject than vague and ambiguous terms; such as, *a limited or mixed Monarchy; a Constitutional Royalty; a settled*

and regular Government ; and the like : terms which convey very different ideas to different minds, and which can have no distinct meaning *a priori*, but only when actually applied to and explained by a subsisting and established order of things. If a party of travellers were to miss their way, and find themselves in a wood or a wild, beset with numberless and imminent dangers, should they be fortunate enough to discover a beaten road, leading to a place of known security, can it be supposed that, rather than pursue it, they would prefer the faint traces of dubious tracks, affording no ground of conjecture whither they tend ? If, therefore, the Confederate Powers would travel together, aiding and supporting each other, until they shall be safe from the unprecedented dangers which surround them, and which have compelled them to unite in their common defence, let them take the only plain and obvious path presenting itself to their view, and conducting to a situation which long experience has proved to be secure, and which, in their present circumstances, it would be their greatest happiness to regain.

By a solemn and express Declaration to the effect above described, the Allied Powers would cement their union—strengthen their mutual confidence—dispel the enervating mists of jealousy and distrust, and by pledging themselves to each other, and to the world, that their views are

as precise, uniform and consistent, as they are just and honourable, they would greatly facilitate the attainment of their object, and at the same time engage the cordial wishes of every honest and feeling mind in their favour. Let not those object who, anxious for the future liberties of France, cannot be reconciled to the idea of restoring the former abuses of its Government. Those abuses would probably never return; they were in a languishing state during the reign of Louis XVI. and they received their *coup de grace* before the Revolution. They were not of the substance of the Constitution, but corruptions and deviations from it: they were the wild shoots which, for want of proper care, and fostered by a corruption of manners, grew luxuriant in a state of prosperity*; and that state must return before there can be any danger of their reproduction: an event which the most sanguine mind can see only at a great distance, and before then, experience will suggest checks and preventions that may render their revival next to impossible. But, at all events, this is not the moment to raise difficulties of such a nature, or of any nature. What mariner, in a violent storm, would object to the ship being steered into port, because she had not undergone a complete repair? If repairs be wanting, they will be best made—nay, they can alone be made—after the vessel shall have escaped from the tempestuous

* See note [F] at the end.

sea, and been brought into a safe and commodious haven.

BUT a still more important benefit would result from such a Declaration (as has been already suggested in the "Reflections, &c." before published by the Author), by its exciting the confidence of the French People themselves, and inducing them to look upon the Allied Powers, not as their conquerors, but their deliverers. Thus would the most effectual assistance be obtained in favour of the Combined Arms—an assistance, without which, to judge from the past, all the efforts of those Arms will fail of complete success. Thus too might occasions be afforded for assisting that People in the struggles by which they endeavour to throw off their heavy and galling yoke; and which, if that yoke were abundantly less heavy and galling than it is, their impatience to submit much longer to an unjust and usurped authority, would unavoidably produce. But, unaccompanied with such a Declaration, all offers of assistance would appear suspicious—and all expeditions, which might be attempted in their favour, would probably fail (as hitherto) to effect anything decisive, for want of that co-operation which confidence only can produce.

EVERY occurrence of the War—every moment of its continuance—brings with it additional proof that there is no rational prospect of being able to
reduce

reduce France to order without the efforts of France itself; that is, of the People against their oppressors : and that the assistance of the interior is necessary to give effect to exterior exertions. The Anarchical Monster must be pierced in his vitals, or he will never be destroyed. The Allies and these unfortunate People are alike necessary to each other. The latter are so wedged in by an immense military force, and by an artfully-constructed system, which has enabled, and still enables, the connected profligate Few to lord it over the unconnected Many, that they cannot relieve themselves : and were not the Republican armies occupied by those of the Allies, the Royal party on the Western Coast would soon be crushed and exterminated, and thereby the progress of Royalty would receive a fatal check. On the other hand, the firm, noble, and persevering stand made by that party, embarrasses the Conventional Tyrants more than the Confederacy itself, and creates a powerful diversion in favour of the Allies. What a just subject of lamentation is it, that two parties so necessary to each other, and whose interests are so precisely the same, should not understand and co-operate, with confidence and harmony, in pursuit of their common object ! To effect this, the thing chiefly wanting is to convince the Royalists in France, that the Combined Powers are their friends—desirous to serve and to save them. To impress such a conviction,

viction, a clear, positive, and unequivocal Declaration, accompanied with such acts as are calculated to prove it sincere, is indispensably necessary. Such a Declaration, so accompanied, would gain the hearts, not merely of the Royalists *in arms*, but of all those who are awed into silence and concealment of their real sentiments—of all who bewail in secret the murder of their King, and the captivity of his lawful Heir—of all who sigh after the religion of their ancestors, and who deplore the unutterable misery of their situation. How numerous this party may be—how soon, when emboldened by their confidence in foreign Powers and their hope in foreign aid, they may rally and effect their deliverance, and with it the escape of Europe and of Society—who will pretend to decide? •

In the mean time, nothing that activity, vigilance, forecast, and energy can effect, should be omitted to crown the operations of the Allied Armies with success. Those Armies, though only a part, are a very necessary part of that complete chain of force by which alone the furious and desperate foe can be effectually bound. The Coalesced Powers should not only call forth all the resources at their command, but also take care to employ them in the most effectual manner. They should bear in mind, that, surrounded as

* See note [G] at the end.

they are by treachery in all its forms, intelligence and secrecy, those grand hinges of military success, are as much more difficult as they are more important in this, than they ever were in any former War. It is only by decisive councils, by vigorous exertions, and by bold and daring enterprizes, that such a War is to be brought to a prosperous issue. The conduct of the Allies should also invariably mark their high sense of the justice of the cause they maintain, and their utter detestation of that they oppose; and it should inspire like sentiments into every breast. They should promote by all the means in their power, and every *real* friend to Humanity will assist them in promoting, a *moral* influence in aid of their *physical* force, to combat the pernicious influence of those principles by which the enemy seeks their ruin and that of Society. They owe it to themselves, and to all who fight under their banners, not to forget that retaliation is one of the most just and necessary principles in the military code of civilized nations; that it is particularly necessary to keep such a foe in awe; and that a neglect to enforce it is sure to be regarded as an indication of fear, and to prove the sacrifice of all title to respect. But particularly ought the Powers engaged in the present War to enforce in their armies the strictest attention to discipline, and the most regular and prompt obedience. They should punish every deviation in these respects with the strictest severity, remembering,

bering, that just and well-timed examples are in effect the greatest lenity, and often the very soul of military energy. The great and glorious successes which attended the British arms in the war of 1756. have been ascribed to nothing so much as to the effect of the example of severity exhibited in the person of Admiral Byng : an example which instantly turned the current of adversity, and continued during the whole War to produce the most happy consequences. In a War like the present, where so much is at stake, where every thing justly dear to man depends upon success, no fault, no neglect can be venial ; and the omission to punish, upon proper occasions, is, if possible, more criminal than the offence which calls for punishment.

THE idea that, in any instance, the noblest cause that ever brought Armies in the field, has suffered by the treachery of any to whom it was confided, is too painful to be admitted without the strongest proof. And yet without such a supposition, injurious as it is to honour and loyalty—to every virtue social and military, how are we to account for the surrender of places of immense strength, almost without an attempt at defence ? After such disgraceful surrenders, if examples be not due to Justice, at least the delay of rigid enquiries is highly prejudicial to the cause.

It

It should not, however, be forgotten, in justice to the Combined Arms, that, while brilliant instances both of conduct and of courage have been frequently exhibited, one of the leading and principal causes of the failure of the campaign of 1794, was the success of that system of artifice, proselytism, and corruption, on which France depends as much as on her military exertions, and by which she constantly endeavours to excite insurrection and introduce Anarchy into every Country in Europe*. It was thus by her perfidious machinations, and by a profuse application of her pecuniary stores, collected from domestic spoliation and foreign pillage, that she succeeded in creating a diversion in Poland, and thereby put it out of the power of the King of Prussia to co-operate effectually with his Allies, and to perform his stipulated engagements. Thus was a very considerable part of that force on which the operations of the campaign had been calculated, unavoidably drawn off, and its plans were consequently disconcerted. Happily, this source of interruption and diversion is cut off. And whatever the private sentiments of any one may be respecting the fate of an unfortunate Country which has experienced the natural and direful effects of sudden innovation, it is impossible for any friend to Humanity, viewing the affairs of Poland in their relation to the general cause, not to rejoice, that they are likely no longer to im-

* See note [H] at the end.

pede the operations of the War. But what abundant matter for joy would it afford, if the illustrious Princess, who, by giving in Poland so severe and sudden a blow to the progress of Anarchy, has set an example of energy to the rest of Europe; who has in a moment extinguished a conflagration lighted from the fires of France, and threatening to unite therewith its spreading flames; and who, at the very moment of triumph, has crowned her success with moderation—how happy would it be if this great Princess, who has thus so effectually aided the Allies, were to employ her immense power and her vast genius in full and direct support of their great and glorious cause. What a name would she leave to posterity, were she to step in at so critical a juncture, and by the addition of *her* force, to save Society from impending destruction,

It should not be forgotten by the Combined Powers, that all their exertions to oppose the arms of Republican France will be of no avail, unless they hold themselves constantly on their guard against the insidious and treacherous arts of their unprincipled foe. The same means which succeeded so far in Poland, have been employed in almost every other European State to foment internal commotions, and to bring about a general revolt and revolution. These engines will not
cease

cease to be employed, so long as the grand spring of French Anarchy shall continue in motion. The greatest and most unremitting watchfulness is necessary to prevent their success.

Among the numerous artifices against which it is necessary to guard, is one which it is most obviously the interest of the Convention to employ, and which indeed it scarcely takes any pains to conceal, *that* of endeavouring to break the subsisting Confederacy. One would think, that a warning against this artifice, were an insult on the sense and the spirit of the Powers of which that Confederacy is composed. But when no caution should be neglected, no admonition ought to be despised; and the incessant cry of Peace, with which Europe is made to resound, cannot fail to excite serious alarms. It is not that there is the least ground to apprehend the atrocious farce of a *general* Peace*, which, by recognizing the Anarchical Republic, would leave the evil which has excited the War, in all its magnitude, and have no other effect than annihilating the efforts necessary to crush that evil—a Peace which the Rulers of France, if from motives of perfidy, or even of necessity, they were induced to sign, it would be out of their power to keep for a single month. Of such a Peace there can be little more question than of a real, solid, stable, and

* See note [1] at the end.

honourable Peace, while France remains destitute of settled Government. Did there exist no other impediments to such a traitorous negociation (for traitorous it would be on both sides), the discernment, spirit, and energy of Great Britain, who, to her immortal honour, is the soul and the cement of the Confederacy, would alone suffice to prevent it. Great Britain, who has never been accustomed to think of peace when she could not by the successes of her arms dictate terms that were honourable, will not now, for the first time (although some of her sons may be so degenerate as to pronounce the timid and disgraceful word), will not now shrink from a contest wherein, besides the failure of her past efforts, she knows that neither her safety nor her honour can exist, unless her adversary be subdued. Englishmen will not forget, that their History stands fair at present, and that they can look back to their political transactions with the rest of Europe without a blush. Nor will they stain their annals, but will determine to leave to their posterity their inheritance of honour as entire and as valuable (at least) as they received it from their ancestors.

Or this the Convention is so well convinced, as to abandon all pacific views as to this country, and to avow the extinction of British freedom and independence, and

and the destruction of the British Government, to be its grand and predominant objects. It seems, however, to have greater hopes of deluding others of the Allies into a surrender of their honour and security ; and it will certainly spare no pains, and neglect no artifice, to detach as many of them as possible from the Coalition. But can it escape the notice of any part of that Coalition, however pressed for the moment, that France can have no other object in endeavouring to make a separate Peace, than to pursue with more ease and effect her plans of universal conquest and devastation ; that she would grant peace to no regular Government, but in order to make the destruction of all regular Governments more certain ; that she would suspend her operations against no one of the Combined Powers with any other view than to be the better enabled to crush them all, and even by the aid of *their* force who should thus become the dupes of her intrigue and her perfidy ; that her obvious policy is to adopt and enforce the maxim, *divide et impera* ; and that she would never entertain an idea, or listen to the proposal of pacification, if she did not feel, like the insidious survivor of the Roman Combatants, when opposed to his three bleeding antagonists, that it is impossible for her to prevail unless she can separate her opponents, in order to subdue them one after another ? Let
such

such of the Powers as may harbour an idea of a separate Peace ask themselves, if, by withdrawing from the Confederacy, they should enable France to overpower the rest of the Allies, what they will have to oppose to her incursions and ravages, when their turn shall arrive (as arrive it will) to be attacked singly and unsupported*. Or let them consider how, in case such a catastrophe should be averted, they will ever be able to hold up their heads again among the Nations. How will they wipe off the disgrace of having abandoned the cause of Society when at the crisis of its fate? If any of them, enervated by commerce and wealth, by avarice and ease, should choose rather to incur such dishonour than to rouse themselves to exertion—if they would risk their national independence rather than drag forth their HOARDS of paltry pelf—who would not spurn at the state of affluence which had produced so inglorious a disposition—who would not prefer thereto the rough and uncultivated simplicity, the manly hardihood of the Barbarian, who knows how to die, but knows not how to yield!

BUT whatever may be the conduct of other Countries—supposing (however improbable the supposition) that Great Britain should, with all

* See Note [K] at the end.

the ardour of her zeal, and with all the brilliancy of her example, be unable to hold the Confederacy together, until its important object be attained, and be finally left alone in the contest—still Britons will contend singly and manfully for their rights, and for those of Humanity. Conscious that united they are invincible, they will supply by their union and their energy the want of foreign assistance. They will spurn at all thoughts of Peace until, being compatible with honour and security, it may afford a rational prospect of stability. They will shew, as their ancestors have often shewn, that British ardour and courage derive fresh lustre from disappointment, and shine brightest in adversity. In the midst of all their difficulties, they will maintain and establish that Naval preeminence, on which alone they can depend for security—which is their natural inheritance—and which *may* prove the ultimate resource of civilized society *. If, indeed, they must perish, they will perish sword in hand—But they will not seek their safety in humiliation: they will neither sacrifice their Honour, nor survive their Independence and their Constitution:—nor will they forget, that **THEIR** acknowledgment of the French Republic would be a fatal stab to all legitimate Government, and a certain prelude to universal Anarchy.

* See note [L] at the end.

the arbiters of her seal, and with all the testimony
of her existence, be possible to hold the Congress
together, until its important object be at-
tained, and be finally left alone in the contest—
The British will consent, highly and manfully for
their rights, and for those of humanity. Con-
scious that united they are invincible, they
will support by their arms and their energy the
want of foreign assistance. They will fight as all
thoughts of fear and being comparable with
honour and victory, it may afford a rational
prospect of stability. They will show, as
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for security—Which is their natural impotence—
and which may prove the ultimate reliance of
civilized society. It, indeed, they must perish,
they will perish sword in hand—but they will
not lose their liberty in submission: they will
neither sacrifice their Honour, nor survive their
Independence and their Constitution:—nor will
they forget, that their acknowledgment of the
French Republic would be a fatal step to all
European Government, and a certain prelude to
universal anarchy.

N O T E S.

[A] p. 26.—It scarcely denotes a greater ignorance of human nature to assert the *abstract* excellence of liberty without any restraint, than to suppose that the same portion of freedom is applicable to, or even practicable in, every country. That degree which in this country is salutary, would probably in another be destructive. The single circumstance of our insular situation contributes much to invigorate the Executive Power, to render its Prerogatives efficacious, and to enable it to dispense with a large standing Army. The Constitution of a country is a *relative* thing, the excellence of which does not so much depend upon abstract qualities, as upon its suitableness to the nation to which it appertains. Upon this important subject the most pleasing and specious theories may be not only useless but mischievous, and the only safe way is to trace causes from effects, rather than to conjecture effects from causes. The Constitution which is so justly admired in Great Britain would not only be inapplicable to every other nation, but even to the British people themselves, if, instead of being habitual to them, it were at once to be introduced by way of experiment. Its utility results from its being the work of practice and experience, rather than of theory. Having been gradually produced in the ordinary course of events, and in the slow progression of ages, it is accommodated to the country; and the people, trained up under its influence, acquire congenial habits, and become assimilated in their dispositions to its spirit and principle; while from this reciprocal effect result both energy and harmony. Happy, indeed, is the people whose lot it is to *inherit* such a Constitution. But surrounding nations will behold it rather with admiration than envy, if they reflect that a common form of government would no more suit mankind than a common climate. The Constitution of a country is also a matter of tardy growth, and can no more than the spreading oak be brought to maturity by forced culture or artificial heat. The greatest possible misfortune for a country is to be without a fixed and stable Government, and those who

attempt to disturb and unhinge such an Institution, in order to make way for untried novelties, are the most dangerous foes to society. Any established system which produces the grand object for which Government is established, by preserving order, harmony, and quiet, is infinitely preferable to speculations and changes, which, as has been proved in France, tend only to introduce confusion, and to occasion the loss of subsisting advantages. Therefore a regular and respectful submission to the Powers that are (that is, those which are permanently established in a State), is the fundamental principle of society, and the indispensable duty of subjects; a duty which is prescribed both by reason and religion, and enforced by the most authoritative sanctions human and divine.

[B] p. 30.—Notwithstanding a marked distinction of character between the French and the English Royal Martyrs, these illustrious Monarchs displayed a striking resemblance in their piety—their virtues—and their personal fortitude and intrepidity, as well as in their fate. They both passed through the most trying scenes with exemplary composure and firmness, and gave in their sufferings, the best possible test of the rectitude of their hearts, and of the purity of their lives. It were to be wished that the French Monarch had imitated the great model for unfortunate Kings exhibited by the English Charles, when the latter resolutely and nobly rejected the Jurisdiction of the infamous Traitors, who, in defiance of the laws of God and man, dared to assume an authority to put their Sovereign upon his Trial. In not deigning to honour these miscreants with any answer to their pretended charges, the British King, although he could not deliver his person from their rebel hands, obtained a glorious Triumph for the cause of Royalty.

[C] p. 32.—The Revolution of 1688 is much more in favour with the advocates for the French Revolution, than the Restoration of 1660. But this is a distinction to which it is by no means entitled, and for which it is indebted solely to its appellation. Both events, if rightly understood, speak the same language; both alike condemn the Revolution of France,
and

and recommend the Restoration of its Monarchy. The English Revolution had nothing in common with the French but the name; for its sole object was the preservation of the established Religion, Government, and Constitution of the country. The great men who co-operated in that transaction, far from pretending to a right to change the Government, or even to remove a reigning Prince, assumed, as the indispensable basis of their proceeding, the vacancy of the Throne, occasioned by the abdication of the Monarch. They took all possible care not to wound the principle of hereditary succession, or any other principle of the lawful Monarchy; and in their language, as well as by their conduct, they shewed the greatest anxiety, and observed the greatest caution, to prevent the transaction in which they were engaged either from furnishing any precedent for subsequent times, or from affording the least sanction to those constructions and inferences, by which the modern Apostles of Liberty endeavour to make it countenance their rebellious and anarchical doctrine of the Right of a people to change their Government.

Indeed the progress of the English Constitution during the long period of nearly 1000 years, exhibits a memorable and an useful example to other countries how to attain the greatest degree of political perfection of which they are capable. Amidst the variety of mutations to be discovered in the annals of this country, the Constitution will be found advancing gradually to maturity under the influence and by the operation of two principles—Never to relinquish what had in any degree been recommended by experience—Nor to seek for any change, except under the urgent pressure of actual and weighty grievances.

The principle of the French Revolution was, on the contrary, to despise the dictates of experience and the wisdom of past ages; to renounce the authority of lawful and long established Government; to reject the duty of subjection and allegiance, and to establish the right of insurrection and rebellion. In fact, this event can only be denominated a Revolution in pursuance of that abuse of language by which it has

been distinguished and promoted, and it is rather an entire subversion of the State than a Revolution in its Government.

The result is but too well known. Mankind have now a warning to deter, as well as an example to allure. And should the present age escape the ruin which stares them in the face, posterity will surely be preserved from the contagious influence of those principles which have produced so extensive a mischief, and exposed the frame of Society to a total dissolution.

[D] p. 37.—It is now upwards of five years since France began to hurl her anathemas against Aristocracy, without which neither Monarchy (as distinguished from Despotism) nor any other regular Government can exist. After having at length, by such means, got rid of every vestige of her own Monarchy, which, when once deprived of its natural support, could not continue to subsist; she now directs not merely her threats, but her open attacks and her secret artifices, against both these forms or branches of Government, whenever they are found within the reach of her force or of her influence. Should she succeed against the States more immediately surrounding her own Territories, who can say what corner of the world she will not molest in the same manner. She *must* keep up her military force, because it is an essential part of her organized Anarchy; she dares not to disband this force, nor even to recall it within her own limits. She must find employment for these military hordes. And with such means at her command, possessing so much frenzy and so much force, the project of universal confusion may not appear chimerical, when, for want of objects nearer home, it may be found necessary to transport her disciplined banditti to distant climes, and thereby to communicate the Revolutionary whirl to the whole world, in order to keep up the rapidity of her own furious movements. When we recollect what has been done by a single city (Rome) upon the plan of universal conquest, we cannot be surprized should a country like France do as much upon that of universal anarchy; particularly when we consider, that in being sure to meet everywhere with human nature, she is sure to find in every region a powerful auxiliary in human folly, passion, weak-

weakness, and depravity, those constant and inexhaustible supplies of the Revolutionary Phlogiston, which she knows so well how to collect and discharge in explosions, that no institution, however solid and however ancient, can possibly resist.

[E] p. 40.—The French Revolution was an attack upon all Government, as it was avowedly a practical application of the monstrous principle which forms the basis of modern Philosophy (that is, of modern Rebellion), that a people already constituted into society have a right to choose their own Government—a principle totally incompatible with the nature and existence of Government, and consequently of society, which cannot exist without Government—a principle repugnant not only to the plainest dictates of reason, but to the most clear and express precepts of revealed religion—a principle, in short, in direct contradiction to the origin and nature of man; of whom it might with equal propriety be said, that he has a right to live without Government, as that he has a right to choose his own Government. France has furnished an ever-memorable example of the effects attending the experiment of this principle. She has shewn, that it carries in its train deposition, murder, massacre, regicide, universal plunder, the most brutal ferocity, the most savage licentiousness, the most intolerable oppression, open infidelity, professed Atheism, in one word, all the guilt, miseries, and horrors of ANARCHY.

[F] p. 43.—It would be happy for society, if those persons who are perpetually calling out for reform, would trace the abuses of which they complain to their real source. Such an investigation would convince them, that as all human institutions, which in themselves must fall vastly short of perfection, are to operate upon a subject so very imperfect as human nature, the result of the operation must in like manner be defective. Hence those persons would at once renounce the error into which they seem so prone to fall; and which, however pleasing as a vision, is extremely injurious in its effects—that perfection is attainable in the present state. But a lesson still more useful would be inculcated by such a research, namely, that the imperfections attending

tending the administration of Government, must ever bear a proportion to the corruption and depravity of manners prevailing among the people. If men were perfect beings, free from every evil propensity, destitute of frailty and of vice, and having their passions always in subjection to their reason, they would scarcely stand in need of any Government at all. But being quite the reverse in all these respects, they require the strong hand of restraint, and can live only in subjection to laws, and to those by whom laws are made. The more their habits and their manners are corrupted, the greater restraints are necessary, and the more defective will be the energy and operation of good Government. As the degree of political perfection and happiness, of which they are capable, depends so much upon the state of public manners, it is evident that the best and most salutary kind of reform, and that which is alone likely to be efficacious in checking the abuses and correcting the corruptions attending the exercise of Government, is *that* which tends to purify the manners of the people; to confirm their habits of regularity, temperance, and industry; to strengthen the influence of virtue, and to invigorate those institutions, moral and religious, which are designed to produce such effects. The extremely corrupted state of manners in France, was the main spring of the abuses of its Government; and it would be possible for a similar cause, if carried to a like extent in England, not only to be attended with similar consequences, but to render that degree of liberty which is secured to the English people by their inestimable Constitution, ruinous to themselves and subversive of the Constitution itself. Nothing, therefore, can be more obvious, than that those persons, who by their example and modes of life contribute in any degree to the profligacy and corruption of public manners, are extremely unqualified to act the part of Reformers, for they produce or augment the very evil of which they complain. At least, if they must have reform, let them begin with reforming themselves. Until they do this, the word Reform must come with a very bad grace from their mouths. Even those who have nothing with which to reproach themselves in the above respects; who have the happiness to find nothing of a *pernicious example* to correct in themselves or their families; even such persons

persons may find abundant scope for utility in the promotion of real and rational reform, by endeavouring, as far as their opportunities extend, to oppose the baneful progress, and to check the contagious influence, of vice, dissoluteness and profanity. By thus employing all the means in their power to correct the manners of the age, they will apply a remedy, as efficacious as it is safe and easy, to the abuses which, more or less, are inseparable from a state of society; a remedy which is sure, without any risk, to palliate and relieve what it is impossible entirely to cure; and which is the more valuable, because all other remedies are violent in their nature, precarious in their effects, and extremely dangerous in their application.

[G] p. 46.—Very different opinions are entertained respecting the real state of the minds of the French people, who are supposed by some persons to have formed a rooted aversion to Monarchy, and to be indissolubly attached to the Republican system. This opinion seems to be hastily and superficially adopted, for want of a due attention to the unavoidable effects of that dreadful and merciless system of terror, which, under the semblance of liberty, has brought the minds of the people into a state of such slavish and debasing subjection, that the Royalists, far from being able to act in concert, do not even dare to communicate to each other their real sentiments. Where death, by virtue of a solemn Decree, is sure to await the proposal of restoring Monarchy, it cannot be expected that a disposition in favour of Royalty should manifest itself openly, without the most favourable opportunity.—But the necessity of such a Decree, in order to support a Revolution which pretended to take for its basis the right of the people to choose their own Government, proves, in the most incontestable manner, that the Royalists are both numerous and formidable. But to refer to something more solid than conjecture, it will surely be allowed that the disposition of a large number of French prisoners, taken in the heat of action, fighting desperately for their Republic, may be expected at least to equal, if not greatly to exceed, in attachment and enthusiasm for the present system, *that* of the general mass of their countrymen at home; and such a reference
must

must be admitted to be candid in that respect, and for the purpose of forming a judgment on that subject.

It is well known that in order to complete the French Emigrant Corps, which the British Government had wisely determined to raise, it was resolved to enlist such of the French prisoners in England as might be willing to engage in the service of their King, their Religion, and their Country. The prison at Plymouth presented in point of numbers the fairest prospect of success in such a scheme, and proper measures were taken to engage those who might be well disposed in that prison. But outward appearances were such as at once seemed to preclude all hope of success. The principal prison, containing about 1800 persons, exhibited a striking picture of the civil and political state of France itself. The prisoners in a mass seemed to be uniformly and without exception determined Republicans. No variance of sentiment or principle could be discovered. One and all united in the cry of *Vive la Republique—Mort aux Rois*. Remonstrances and exhortations drew forth no other reply than insult, abuse, and the most atrocious and sanguinary songs. A closer and more accurate inspection of the internal state of the Prison explained the cause of such unpromising symptoms, and proved that appearances afforded a very fallacious ground by which to judge of the real disposition of the generality of the prisoners. The neglect of necessary measures to preserve a strict police among prisoners, who having served in the cause of licentiousness, required a tighter hand than their countrymen taken in former Wars, had enabled the profligate Few to subject the Many to their tyrannical dominion. A Revolutionary Tribunal was instituted, which took cognizance of every offence against *Civism*. Every art of intimidation was practised; and every corporal punishment, which circumstances would admit of, was inflicted with the utmost severity. The Guillotine alone was wanting. But without its aid a complete tyranny was established over the minds of the unhappy prisoners, and no one dared to incur the suspicion of being otherwise than enthusiastically attached to Republicanism. The free and indiscriminate communication they were permitted to have with all persons whatsoever, afforded an opportunity for English Jacobins to associate with the prisoners,

soners, and to encourage their disorderly habits by every mode of intercourse, by the distribution of incendiary prints, and even by donations of money. At the head of the Democratic party was a demagogue named *Artois*—a congenial spirit with *Robespierre*—who by his savage and atrocious disposition was entitled to the ascendancy, which he was better enabled to acquire and to maintain, by his being unaccountably appointed a *Commissary* in the Prison, and confided in by some of those Agents of Government, who by their blindness, negligence, and credulity (if not from a worse cause), are constantly counteracting, in almost every department, the operation of the wisest and most beneficial measures. Next to *Artois* was a young man of the name of *Abraham*, as violent in appearance, though not so radically depraved as his leader. Then followed the subordinate chiefs, to the number of about forty, who exhibited a spectacle of savage brutality, and seemed to carry their democratical rage to the utmost pitch of maniacal frenzy. There was also a second class, amounting to about a hundred and twenty, who were induced rather by weakness and fear than depravity to distinguish themselves in the cause of violence, and to assume the character of ferocious turbulence: apart from the rest many of these have frankly confessed, that they were induced by timidity so to do, while others, observing a profound silence, have shewn that they wanted courage even to make such an avowal. The rest, though always ready to declare themselves Republicans, and to re-echo the most furious yells of Democracy, did in reality detest the Revolution, groan under the oppressive yoke it had imposed upon them, and sigh for the return of order and the restoration of their Religion and their Monarchy. The discovery of this state of the Prison obviously suggested the necessity of separating the turbulent and profligate ringleaders from the mass of the prisoners, as an indispensable preliminary to the success of the recruiting service in that place. Such a separation was accordingly made; and it was, by good management, effected with the utmost order and tranquillity. Soon did the benefits resulting from this measure begin to display themselves, and in a very short time a considerable number

of the latter class of prisoners was inlisted*. It was a spectacle equally curious and interesting, to observe the gradual transition of these unfortunate men from that state of terror which had induced them to act a forced and unnatural part, to confidence and security. When asked if they would engage in the cause of their King, they at first started, and seemed fearful to give an answer.—Invited to drink their King's health, their fears seemed to increase—they trembled and looked cautiously around them, lest they should be observed and denounced by their comrades. Emboldened by finding that they were safe from that danger, they drank the much-dreaded, though really welcome toast—and assuming more confidence, their features began to soften, their countenances to brighten up—their minds were relieved as it were from an insupportable burthen, and in the course of a few days, restored to serenity, to hope, and to themselves, they scarcely appeared to be the same persons; so wonderful was the change produced by their release from the overwhelming influence of terror.

A scene which recently occurred in the Convention tends strongly to support the inference suggested by the above recital, while it gives rise to other reflections of an interesting nature. An author, named *La Croix*, having in a work published by him expressed some doubts of the reality of the attachment of the people to the Convention, and having proposed a plan to ascertain their true sentiments on this subject, was denounced, and ordered by a decree to be tried by the Criminal Tribunal. After the public reading of the work in the Convention, a Deputy, named *Mailhe*, observed, that it had been asserted by ignorant men, that a people had a right to choose whatever Government they pleased, but that the Committee, who were on the point of making a report on that subject, would demonstrate the error of such an assertion. *We will shew* (added the speaker) *that the people cannot be allowed a right to give*

* It is true, a stop was soon put to the progress of recruiting among the French Prisoners by the arrival of a Commissioner from London, who listened to the complaints of *Artois* and his associates, condemned the separation, and took measures to counteract all that had been so successfully done.

themselves a King. (Applauses.) *An individual in France, who would have a King, would not be a man, but a tyger—an enemy of the human race!* (More applauses.) *It is my opinion, that we should instantly outlaw every man who shall speak of Royalty.* (Shouts of applause.) Such is the fate of that boasted and sacred right which it was the grand object of the French Revolution to assert and to exercise,—the Right of a People to choose their Government. The practical assertion of this right has had in France its natural operation. By its aid the vilest miscreants have acquired the ascendancy—but no sooner are they uppermost, than the right instantly ceases—it is denied even in theory. The people *must* be faithful to the new Republic, and death awaits the man who shall dare to propose a Kingly Government. Behold! ye *Prices* and *Priestleys*, with your disciples, the admirers of French Liberty—behold! ye advocates for the French Revolution, ye who extolled it as the most glorious fabrick ever raised by man—where is now the *sovereign will*—where the *Majesty* of the People of France! If not satisfied with a distant view of such blissful scenes, betake yourselves to the Land of Liberty; assume the sacred character of French Citizens; partake of the fraternal embrace. But beware how you indulge your restless disposition; beware how you give way to fickleness, or lose your attachment to the Republic. While enjoying the delicious fruits of the Revolution, while living under the Government of your choice, and participating with your fellow-citizens the *imprescriptible* right to choose another, *whenever you may please so to do*; beware how you forget that the proposal of a Monarchy will be sure to conduct you to the scaffold!

[H] p. 49.—The Report made by *St. Just* to the Committee of Public Safety, in May 1794, discloses some of the expences that had been incurred to purchase the “inactivity, cowardice, and perfidy,” of the Neutral States. Seventy millions, in money, jewels, and other valuable effects, were thus employed in Turkey. Forty millions were in like manner distributed in Switzerland. London, Turin, Rome,

and Vienna, were not forgotten. But it is in relation to Genoa that the Reporter is most explicit in unfolding the motives of Republican generosity.—“ Our object was “ to form a party, to sow the seeds of Liberty, to bring “ about a Revolution, which should subject Genoa to our “ principles, and its wealth to our Treasury, and which “ should open to our armies one of the gates of Italy. It “ was our intention to nourish in secret this Revolution, until “ *at the moment appointed for a general explosion throughout* “ *Europe*, the partizans of Aristocracy might be strangled by “ the arms of another Hercules before they had even perceived his cradle.” It is afterwards declared, that a million and a half were expended in Genoa in one week, with a view to convert the Ducal Crown into a Cap of Liberty.

In the same Report *St. Just* very candidly acknowledges, (what it is truly astonishing that any of the Powers of Europe should fail to discern) that the purity of French principles can admit of no compact with the Cabinets of Ministers, nor with the Senate of any subsisting Republic—that according to those principles there is not one free State in all Europe—that if French Liberty should triumph, all the ancient Institutions in Europe must descend into the same grave with Kings and with Royalty—and that *the Neutrality of the Powers which have not acceded to the Coalition, will, at most, BUT RETARD THEIR FALL.*

The above Report had avowedly for its object to recommend a change of measures with regard to Neutral Powers, and to advise the Committee, instead of paying those Powers for doing what their own interest would induce them to do, to distribute their gold among the Powers at War. “ It is in *their* armies (says the Reporter) that we “ must pay partizans; it is to discontented Generals that we “ must open the doors of our Treasury. For such purposes, “ we should, if necessary, exhaust our resources—and *the* “ *necessary plans to effect such purposes are already laid.*”

[1] p. 51.—Although the supposition of a general Peace is so extravagant as scarcely to deserve serious notice, it cannot be amiss, nay, it may be useful, by way of preparation for every

every possibility, however remote, to consider the important subject before us in every light in which it can be exhibited. The result of such a survey would be to convince every reflecting mind, that if the Convention were to exhibit the least disposition to treat for a general Peace, on terms at all just and equitable, such a circumstance would only prove that the anarchical Monster wants to take breath—that its Committee of PUBLIC SAFETY find it impossible much longer to resist the force they have to encounter—that having, from motives of momentary expedience, quitted hold of the Sword of Terror, they find its resumption insuperably difficult, and that they cannot, by any other means, compel the People to endure the inexpressible hardships of such a War, and to recruit the immense losses which their armies have sustained—that they find their grand resource, assignats, on a rapid decline, and pressed down by their own weight, augmented by so many difficulties—that, in addition to these considerations, they are in despair on observing the extinguishment of the Volcano they had lighted up in the North, and from which they expected a powerful diversion of the Combined Forces—and that they are alarmed beyond all expression at the indissoluble firmness of the Confederacy, at the undaunted spirit and increasing energy displayed by Great Britain, and at the unequivocal proof of its immense resources, so conspicuous in the advantageous proposals which the Minister, with commendable precaution, has enabled himself to lay before Parliament, for the vigorous prosecution of the War, and for the preservation of the important Confederacy. Such are the only motives which can ever dispose the Convention to listen to just and reasonable terms. But can there exist stronger motives to encourage the Combined Powers to follow up their blow; to avail themselves of all their advantages, and in particular of the opening which such a state of things would afford, to obtain the assistance of the French People in the grand object of the War; and to dissuade them from listening to the treacherous and unnatural sounds of Peace, issued forth from the terrestrial, and doubtlessly proceeding from the infernal *Pandæmonium*? Can those Powers be induced to render themselves blind victims to the artifice of their insidious foe, because they have such strong proofs that he cannot vanquish them by his force? Can they forget, that whatever stipulations

polations they may make with such an enemy, will be binding only on themselves, and will, on the other side, have no more effect than a treaty with the winds; that the only persons with whom they can negotiate, supposing them to be even the reverse of what they are—supposing them to be the most honest and virtuous of men, can give no security for the performance of their engagements? Can they forget, that they must treat, if at all, with such a body as the Convention—that they must recognize its authority, and thereby, in spite of all their professions of horror, sanction its crimes, its usurpation, and its regicide; and that by so doing they would sign a virtual abdication of their own Thrones, and an express renunciation of all the rights of lawful Government, and of all the principles of civilized Society? Or can it, in short, escape their notice, that in consequence of their being thus duped, France would speedily regain all the means of War, and be obliged, by the impulse of her own revolutionary *momentum*, to employ them without delay—that the instantaneous effect of a nominal Peace would be to stamp a value on that immense mass of revolutionary paper, which has been increased to such an enormous bulk, which has been even more fatal to the cause of Order than the artillery of its foes, and which would soon absorb and swallow up all the currency of Europe—and that, after a short interval, the Monster would be completely refreshed and invigorated, and his leaders, who saved him at the moment of impending destruction, by deluding those who had him in their power, would goad him on to new ravages, and inflict on Europe and on civilized Society that fate, which such blind credulity would most richly deserve?

[K] p. 54.—*Tallien* has been sufficiently explicit in the Convention to prevent the possibility of a doubt respecting the views of France, in endeavouring to detach part of the Allies from the Confederacy. In the sitting of November 14, he said, “ Now when our brave brethren in arms, conquerors on the Rhine, are forcing tottering thrones to bow before the Majesty of the French People, to sue for a Peace which can be honourable only to the latter; now that France can, by ridding herself of part of her enemies, carry the glory of her arms to the banks of the Thames, and destroy the

English

" *English Government, &c.*" and further, " That Govern-
 " ment (the Convention) takes wise measures to make an ho-
 " nourable Peace with some of our enemies, and *with the as-*
 " *sistance of the Dutch and Spanish ships we will repair with*
 " *vigour to the banks of the Thames, and destroy the New*
 " *Carthage.*"

[L] p. 55.—Nothing can be at once more obvious and more congenial to the feelings of Englishmen than that their chief dependence must be on their Navy for a secure and honourable termination of the War; the only termination that a True Briton will ever consent to. Without neglecting any means within our reach, to stimulate and encourage the Continental Powers, to harraßs the common enemy, and to find employment for his million of men in arms, let us look to the ocean as the grand scene of our efforts and of our glory, and as the only bulwark of our safety. Instead of attending to the vain chimera of an unattainable Peace, which the mushroom rulers of France would not grant if they could; which, if they were disposed to concede to our supplications, it would be out of their power to observe; and which if both granted and kept would only enable France to sur ply her wants and to make her Navy (intolerable thought!) equal—perhaps superior—to our own; instead of submitting to the humiliating idea of such a Peace, the only one of which there can be at present *any* question, let us prescribe to ourselves as the indispensable object, which no discouragement shall make us abandon, **TO CRUSH THE NAVY OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE.** To this great object let all our vast resources be directed, as to our only safe dependence for an honourable, a solid, and a permanent Peace; a Peace consistent with security, and at which we shall have no occasion to blush. The glorious First of June points out to us the path of victory. It is on our native element that we will retrieve the disasters of the War, and crown it with complete success. It is there that we will make the courage and enthusiasm of the Nation flow in its natural channel. It is there that, while we maintain and perpetuate the ancient Liber-
 ties

ties of Englishmen, we will refute the modern French system of Liberty and Equality, and quench in the mighty deep the disorganizing spirit of Anarchy. It is there that we will wield the trident of Neptune, and, by its potent aid, confirm the sceptre of Royalty. It is there, in short, that, relying on the approbation of Providence on our exertions in the cause of Justice, Humanity, and Religion, we will conquer—and conquering speak **PEACE TO THE WORLD.**

Towards the accomplishment of the great and indispensable object of demolishing the Navy of France, the war has already made great advances. In less than two years it has deprived that Navy of twenty-six ships of the line; nine of which have been added to the Navy of Great Britain, and the rest destroyed; making a comparative difference of thirty-five ships in the two Navies: a boast which no preceding War is entitled to make.

But to attain the above most desirable object, extraordinary and unprecedented exertions are become necessary, since France has encreased her Naval resources by the acquisition of Holland. To counterbalance such an acquisition, neither spirit nor means can surely be wanting, at a crisis like the present, to induce each of the Counties and most Commercial Towns in the Kingdom to present his Majesty, according to their respective ability, a Ship of War completely equipped, and to bear the name of the place by which it is supplied, as an honourable and lasting memorial of its Loyalty and Patriotism. Such a measure would not only have the effect of encreasing greatly the strength of the Navy, but also of cherishing that Naval spirit which is the native spirit of this country, and even of heightening the ardour and enthusiasm by which the Navy is already so nobly distinguished. Perhaps, also, the benefits arising from such a measure might be still further promoted by allowing, as much as circumstances would permit, a preference to the natives of the respective Counties and Towns to serve on board the respective ships: a circumstance that would greatly contribute to excite emulation, by superadding the influence of local attachments to that of national feelings.

THE END.



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